1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 men. A female ethnologist might get an interesting, and perhaps different, picture of Yaruro culture. I do know that there were many things, especially in the field of shamanism, from which I was shut off. The Yaruros saw this and the women relayed a pressing request that on my next visit to them I bring my "wife" (I have none!), with whom they could lie on the sands at night and tell things about their world similar to what their men told me.

My visit took place in the months of February, March, and April of 1934. Several species of intestinal parasites acquired in Brazil not only precluded my roaming about the countryside, but forced the Yaruros to attend me day and night for many weeks, giving ample opportunity—once it lasted for thirty-four consecutive hours—to talk. A sedentary life is so foreign to a nomadic people that this chance to corner them for "talk" was too good to miss. In fact, after a while it was becoming too much for them, and besides, hunting in the area became impractical. Everything considered, we reached a saturation point and I started on my way back. Many of these friends may be dead by now.

The Yaruros and Their Country

Yaruro Daily Life

101 131 181 Peaceful and mystical, the Yaruros, or Pumeh as they call themselves, wander up and down the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers (fig. 15) gathering their daily dinner and thinking about the life awaiting them in the Land of Kuma when they leave this world.

341 133 As dawn breaks over the hills of Guiana we may discover a Yaruro camp on one of the sandy beaches of the Capanaparo River about a day's journey by canoe from where it flows into the Orinoco. It appears as a dark blotch on the wind-packed white sands at a distance of some 50 yards from the water's edge and more than that from the wall of vegetation which marks the bank of the river during the rainy season and hides the open savanna country beyond. The camp gives no sign of life until the sun shows clearly in the sky. Then we see that it consists of some leafy branches and 3-foot sticks bare of bark thrust in the sands, casting long shadows in the early morning to where the vultures are fighting among themselves at the refuse heap located to the west of the camp; or the white vulture, the "king," may be seen feasting alone while his black brethren await disconsolately on the side.

341 As the light becomes stronger we make out under the branches piles of debris, recumbent human forms, and mangy dogs tied to the sticks. The debris consists of baskets and pots, with here and there small

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Bats are plentiful, but they tend to be most abundant in the forests and hills close to the Orinoco. Armies of them fly nightly out of the caves of Guiana to feed on the fruit of the forests in the plains. One evening while crossing back from Guiana to the llanos we saw a stream of bats flying across the river. They seemed to come from a cave about 2 miles away. Though we watched them flying overhead for about half an hour, there did not seem to be any end to them.

Formerly the llanos were peopled by a number of tribes who have since disappeared, leaving behind them practically no knowledge of their societies. Only the Yaruros and the Guahibos inhabiting the Meta region have survived to this day. The Tamanachi, the Guamos, the Otomacos, which are best but meagerly known, have died or been killed off in recent years. I saw the last Otomaco survivors, an old woman and a boy of five, who had been saved from a reputed massacre. The Achaguas seem to have disappeared in recent years also. What has happened to these people can be easily understood when it is considered that during the past 25 years the worldwide unrest has driven adventurers to many corners of the earth, and these people have been exposed to the marauding "revolutionary" bands and to the equally destructive cupidity of the crocodile hunter and the rancher.

There are 150 Yaruros left in the region of the Capanaparo and on an island at the mouth of that river called the Linda Bara. It is claimed that on the Sinaruco there are other bands but no contact was made with them. Formerly the Yaruros occupied a large territory and perhaps roamed the plains, as well as the rivers, but since the land has been taken up by the ranchers they have been forced to the river banks.

The animals of greatest interest to the Yaruros are: jaguar, puma, wild pigs, capibara (the chiguire), armadillo, snakes, jivaro stork, vultures, manatee, tonino, crocodiles, iguana.

Plant life has great importance as a source of food, usable wood, medicines, and narcotics. The moriche and macanilla palms supply the Yaruros with fibers and bow wood. The chigua supplies him with flour; the changuango and barbaco with edible roots.

The Yaruros call themselves "Pumeh." In the literature they are referred to as "Saururi" (Gumilla), "Zavuri" (Gilii), and more recently as Jaruros, Sayuros, etc. According to my informants Yaruro or Jaruro, is a Guahibo word by which they are known to that people. The Guahibos are known to the Yaruros as "Tciricoa," "people of the forest." The word Pumeh has no exact translatable meaning. The closest equivalent is the Spanish "gente." When a Yaruro uses it he implies "the people," "the chosen people." Only the Yaruros are Pumeh, but the term occasionally includes other tribes. All non-

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

aboriginal peoples are called by the Spanish word "Racionales" which is the equivalent of "civilizado," civilized. It was only after they came to the conclusion that I was a Pumeh also, and quite different from the Racionales, that they accepted me and made this study possible.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The Yaruros are small and dark with a strong mongoloid appearance. The faces are heavy, broad, with the eyes very often showing the mongoloid fold. The average stature of the men is about 5 feet 3 inches and of the women about 4 feet 10 inches. One gets the impression that the heads are larger than the ordinary in comparison with the body size. The frame is light, both men and women possessing small, beautifully shaped hands and feet. The body is relatively hairless, as is usual among pure Indian peoples. They have strong teeth and seem to keep them until a very old age.

The Yaruros have had some contact with Europeans or mixtures of Spanish, Negro, and Indians for several centuries. Herrara reached the Meta River in 1535, and subsequently missions were established along the Orinoco and its tributaries. About 1750 a mission was established at La Urbana for the Otomacos, and one was later established at Barinas. Apparently at that time these people inhabited the region between the Capanaparo and the Apure. No missions were established for the Yaruros, and, according to Gilii, the Yaruros came to the Otomaco missions to be baptized. Father Gumilla wrote:

> Here, between the Sinaruco and Meta rivers were established the colonies of Santa Barbara and of San Juan Francisco Regis at the end of 1739, having pacified the Saruro (Yaruro) nation; of which nation Father Manuel Roman, the Superior of those missions, in a letter of February 20, 1740, gives me excellent news of their good will and docility and, which is receiving our teachings anxiously; with the hope that with the good example of these first two other Reductions will be established. He adds that in the colony of San Francisco de Borja of the same nation Sarura, of which Father Francisco de Olmo is in charge, who has reduced their language to writing and a dictionary. Christianity is flourishing; and that already schools for writing, reading, and singing are attended by children (a short while ago they were wild); and that they sing the mass, litanies, etc., in a fair way. So much does careful and diligent effort accomplish in those wild regions! Father Rogue Lubian takes care of the Santa Teresa village with the same efficiency; Father Jose Maria Cervillini is in charge of San Ignacio; he, with Brother Agustin de la Vega, attend as best they can the rest of the new villages, and they are clamoring for workers with the firm hope that you will send them as soon as possible.

Since there has been contact with the white man and some Negroes for several centuries, one would expect a certain amount of race mixture. However, I never saw a sign of the slightest trace of Negro blood. The hair which, more than any other characteristic, seems to indicate Negro contact, in the case of the Yaruro is coarse and straight,

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

It is well to note that the llanos form a sort of cul-de-sac from which there is only one escape, and that is by way of the Orinoco River. It is quite likely that the llanos have been the camping grounds and the highway for a number of tribes migrating northward, southward, or eastward. For peoples practicing agriculture, Guiana and the lower Orinoco region would be more suitable than the plains of Apure, where, on account of the strong winds and the sandy soil, it is difficult to carry on any cultivation of the soil. The mountainous regions to the north and west are also fit for agriculture. Therefore it was only the culturally poorer tribes that would remain in the llanos.

We have, therefore, in the following pages, a people who are primitive hunters, whose history is unknown, who do not seem to be linguistically related to any other group, and whose appearance is strongly mongoloid—who have been in contact not only with foreign indigenous culture but with some European culture, and who are facing physical and cultural extinction. Perhaps this last fact should be allowed to dominate this study, because it can throw into relief much of Yaruro culture and will remind us that anthropology is not so much signs of things as the signs of man, and that his problems and the way he solves them is as important, if not more important, than purely historical problems and theories. The opportunity of studying religion, social organization, and general spiritual culture of a South American tribe was so strong that during my stay with the Yaruros I concentrated with these phases of their culture rather than on the material phases or linguistic problems.

My Journey To and Life With the Yaruros

Contact with the Yaruros is not easy. No one ever knows near what water hole or at what point on the river these nomads may be found. Several centuries of maltreatment have made them shy and suspicious of strangers and particularly of all "Racionales." Primitive and loosely organized, they could not and cannot today offer any effective resistance to civilized groups which may want to exploit them. At the time of my visit everyone along our route was indignant over the treatment that about 150 Yaruros had received at the hands of unknown local "jefes civiles" about a month before. They were seized and matcheted to death, reducing the total population of this tribe (excluding bands that may be hidden along the Sinaruco River) to one-half. My presence in their midst naturally aroused fears that some fresh calamity was about to befall them.

In the rainy season there is only one way of penetrating the llanos of Apure, and that is by boat. From the Orinoco one can sail or

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

311 177 In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the [178] Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

361 Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

224 621 596 Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory [174] of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

619 101 There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

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not allowed to the neighboring peoples, such as the Otomacos or the Achaguas. The social and linguistic bonds seem to be strong enough to cause the Yaruros to recognize themselves as a distinct people.

FOODS

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In the llanos food is not plentiful except in and along the rivers; but the foraging activities of the Yaruros are restricted to the banks of the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers for another reason. The hunting of land animals has practically stopped for fear that they will be accused by the ranchers of killing cattle. In recent years the activities of the crocodile hunters have ruthlessly destroyed the game, and since such hunters live on the country they have consumed a portion of the available quantity of game on which the Yaruros depended for a livelihood.

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In the dry season game is concentrated along the rivers and the water holes. It is considerably easier to hunt it then than in the rainy season, when it is dispersed over the plains. The turtle, which is found in great quantities in the waters of the Orinoco and its tributaries, suffers a yearly mass hunt and destruction which has its effect on the food supply of the Yaruros. It has been discovered that the turtle fat and eggs will produce a fine grade of oil which sells for a high price. The result is that the breeding grounds of the turtles become yearly a scene of great activity and destruction. No one knows how many thousands of turtles and turtle eggs are gathered and converted into this oil late in the month of April.

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The meat staple of the Yaruros is the *Crocodilus babu*, a small crocodile which grows to about 6 feet long. This animal is hunted daily and eaten in its entirety. Its meat is esteemed above that of any other animal. On the other hand, the cayman, sought for its hide, is not hunted as a rule by the Yaruros. Perhaps this meat is not as savory as that of the babu, but the Yaruros give the reason that the large crocodile represents a race of mankind to which they are related. So that although occasionally it may be hunted for the price that its hide may bring, it is never eaten and never hunted consistently.

[825]

Next to the crocodile, turtles, including the matamata and tortoise, are to be found broiling over the fires in every Yaruro camp, and if they are not broiling they can be seen in shallow pools of water with their forelegs tied to their hindlegs. In this way they can keep alive but cannot walk away. The armadillo is seldom obtained and other meats appear occasionally on the diet of the Yaruros. Fishing is resorted to when neither crocodiles nor turtles are obtainable. The caribe, which is the piranha of Brazil, is esteemed but little. The tonino, which can be seen gracefully playing in the water or can be heard snorting in the rivers at night, is never hunted. It also is

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1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 the Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-
502 tom of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

362 Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun,
342 and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite
361 chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too no-
364 madic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

101 However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the
361 mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they
342 make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

317 At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper
323 clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

[P. 1]

Antropológica

SOCIEDAD DE CIENCIAS NATURALES LA SALLE
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THE IDEOLOGY OF THE YARURO INDIANS IN RELATION TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Anthony LEEDS

121

It is the purpose of this paper to show the correspondence between the principles of socio-economic organization of the Yaruro Indians and their ideology and to isolate some dimensions of ideology which may be used for comparative purposes. It is hoped that by further isolation of such categories it will eventually become possible to compare the structure and content of widely different ideologies, as we today are able to compare kinship systems, so that we may be able to recognize synchronic regularities of a functional order and diachronic regularities of an evolutionary sort. Yaruro religious and philosophical beliefs are reduced to a series of postulates or axioms about the nature of the universe and man in an analysis somewhat like Kluckhohn's study of Navaho philosophy and Opler's of Apache themes. (1). No Yaruro would be able to express the axioms nor see them in the logical series as presented here, yet each would recognize them, when couched in the phrasings of his own language, as referring to his particular *Weltanschauung*. The postulates are derived from direct statements by informants about the cosmos or about human living, from other verbal materials such as discussions of disease and social organization, and, more occasionally, from observed behavior. The generalized titles introducing each of the summarized postulates appearing at the end of the paper comprise the dimensions, here inductively arrived at, which may serve for cross-cultural analysis.

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The Yaruro Indians have been living in the savannas or llanos of Southern Venezuela for an unknown number of centuaries. They have developed a socio-economic life well-articulated to the geographical conditions of life.

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The gross geographical characteristics of the alternately desert-like and flood-covered llanos cause all the best economic resources to be concentrated

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(1) Kluckhohn (1949); Opler (1945).

5: Le Besnerais SS19 Yaruro SS19

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[For a listing of dates during which the author observed various house types in numerous Yaruro settlements, see category 342, pp. 5-6.]

/109/

101 The Yaruro Indians, who among themselve call themselves by the term "pumę," live in the Venezuelan llanos, the tropical savannas that border the left bank of the Orinoco. They are fishermen, hunters, gatherers, and agriculturalists whose original culture has already greatly changed. All of their past 197 is not yet known. As to their dialect, it has not as yet been classified in any of the known South American linguistic fami- 114 lies. The observations that make up this article come from investigations made on the spot by the author between 1947 and 1950.

I. The Territory (see Map 1)[1]

131 a) Boundaries.

At the present time the territory populated by the Yaruro Indians lies approximately between 6.30 and 7.30 degrees north latitude and 67 and 69.30 degrees west longitude.

The bulk of the population, which was the subject of our investigations, lives along the banks of the Capanaparo and one of its tributaries, the Riecito, that is, on some 400 kilometers of river.

The rest are dispersed north of the Capanaparo, on the Arauca, the Cunaviche, and the neighboring rivers, and, to the south, on the banks of the Orinoco between the mouths of the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco and near the rivers located between the Capanaparo, the Riecito, and the Cinaruco.

b) Neighbors.

101 The whole region located north of the Capanaparo, the banks of the Orinoco, and part of the banks of the Capanaparo itself -- going upstream, the northern part up to the junction with the Riecito and the southern part on 220 kilometers up to the Madre Vieja Basiliero -- are populated by Venezuelan peasants, the llaneros, who thus occupy part of the Yaruro territory.

[1][see p. 3. —Analyst]

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Y
● 101 On the other boundaries the neighbors of the Yaruro are Indians. They are the Cuiba to the west, and the Guahibo and the Chiricoa to the south (1). In addition, Amburua coming

1. Unverified information received from Yaruro, llaneros, or travelers.

from the south would have had intermittent contact with them. As for the Otomaco /Otomac/, whose territory formerly extended to the north of the Capanaparo, there remain only a few survivors who have become Venezuelan peasants and have completely forgotten their ancient culture. /Map 1 appears here./[1]

We shall deal with the llaneros and the Otomaco, with whom the Yaruro may perhaps be related, in subsequent articles, and we shall limit ourselves here to giving the little information gathered on the other Indians mentioned.

The Cuiba.

J
131 Some Cuiba appear to live on the upper Capanaparo and the upper Riecito near the border which on the west separates Venezuela from Colombia, but their territory /111/ lies principally in Colombia along the Casanare and on the other bank of the Meta. They seem to maintain commercial relations with the Yaruro, bringing to the last Yaruro village on the Riecito (community 30) canoes (we saw one) or hammocks for barter against manufactured products of Venezuelan origin, cloth or machetes that they use in clearing forest galleries and in cultivating land. They may likewise trade with the Guahibo, but by silent trade.

J Y [139]

G
101 Guahibo and Chiricoa.
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131 Guahibo and Chiricoa, according to the majority of our informants, may be two synonymous terms; only one informant claims that they designate two distinct groups, the first inhabiting

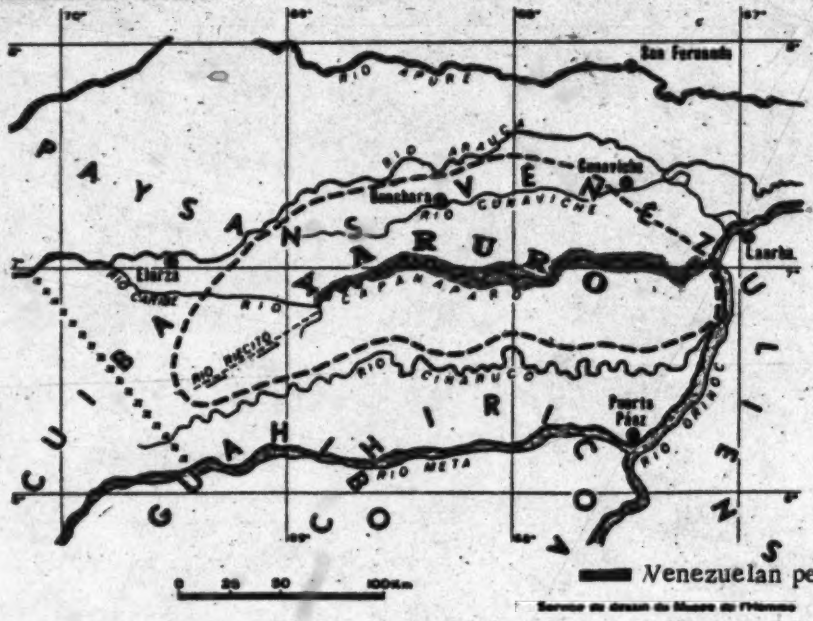
[1] [Map 1 now appears on p. 3. —Analyst]

G 101 114 131 G Y 491

/111 cont./

the territory mentioned above, in the west, and the second in the east along the Orinoco; they meet to the south of the Cinaruco, the northern limit of their territory which lies principally in Colombia. Like the Cuiba, they seem to trade with the Yaruro, exchanges taking place in the Yaruro villages located near the Cinaruco and consisting also of products of their making for manufactured ones.

J G 101 Y 101 102 131 133



Map 1

Correction: Elorza instead of Elurza.

/10 cont./

II. Notes on the Otomaco

101 From information gathered principally from Pedro Ramón
186 Camacho (10) it seems that the Otomaco or Tomaco were the

[115 622 756]

10. Chief and shaman of community No. 6, our best informant.

object on the part of the Yaruro of a regard completely different from that they had for the other Indians who were their neighbors (11).

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11. In addition to the neighbors already cited in a previous article (see "infra" IV List...36) names of other Indians, known, it seems, by the Yaruro, were mentioned to us by various informants in the course of our investigations. Some appear to live at present in Colombia; the Mayaredo or Mayarero, "very far to the west of Yaruro territory, there where the savanna ends," which no doubt means at the foot of the Andes; the Saliba and Taparito cya koromę more particularly on the upper Meta; and the Tiapaco, Tiarua, and Mapoyó without fixed localization. The others seem to have disappeared: the Piquero (tabę pumę in Yaruro), who "cultivated conucos and had a game with a ball" and seem to have inhabited the banks of the Orinoco on the Cinaruco side, and the Guamo, Tamanaco, Tamanachi, and Guaruro.

/10 cont./

Y 186 10 Y 186 773 These are in fact presented as enemies or inferiors. The Otomaco, on the contrary, appear to have been friends or relatives who were superior to them. This hierarchy is apparently confirmed by the Yaruro myth of the creation of men (12) whose

12. See "infra" IV List...38.

the Otomaco were the first brought out of a hole in the ground by the masculine divinity Iţiai, the Yaruro arriving only in second place, followed by the other Indians and the Racionales who were the last born. Their birth took place, in addition, just after that of Iţiai but before the flood which submerged the world and only after which the Yaruro were born.

O Y 773 776 The Otomaco seem to have the same divinities and religious manifestations as the Yaruro, as comes out from the words of our informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, reproduced word for word below.

"They knew who the Kuma (13) was and they were loved by

13. Female Yaruro divinity.

O 776 the Gods. Now in the other world whereas the dead of the other Indians inhabit an isolated village located at the edge of the Universe, on the shore of the sea and some leagues from the Kuma's village, the Otomaco live a little lower than the Kuma's village, like from here to the corridor of forest (some 200 meters), in a village perched on the /11/ mountain. They called the Kuma, Iţiai, and Puana (14) by their names.

14. Another masculine Yaruro divinity, Iţiai's brother.

O Y 775 776 They had, like us, tiyo (protecting spirits represented by stones or pottery remains) and when my spirit walks along the

7:Leeds E-4,5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

[131] [10] 172

A B C D E F

Among the objects in the possesion of the El Gomal Yaruro (ca. 6° 42' N.; 67° 43' W.), about 70 miles west of the Orinoco River. Informants claimed to have dug them up during house-building. No objects of these kinds are made by the Yaruro today. *A*) Hollow ceramic bird-head object, open and broken at the top. *B*) Solid ceramic object, unidentified. *C*) Polished stone object, unidentified. *D*) Solid ceramic object with punctate design, apparently a conventionalized animal (frog or snake?) head. *E*) Highly polished black stone, unidentified, about 1.25 inches long, apparently broken at one end. *F*) Highly polished tan stone object (mano?), about 6 inches long. No stones of these kinds are to be found in the area.

[facing p. 169]